/39/

291 177 132 Long before the present phase of acculturation, which has been going on for five or six decades perhaps, the continental climate of southern Mato Grosso, quite severe in the winter months, had already forced the Guaraní populations (mainly the Kayová) of the region to adopt garments in order to protect themselves against the inclement weather. The direct influence of Chaco tribes in this respect is undeniable.

291 [283] [462] [286] [386] The principal pieces of the traditional male clothing of the Kayová are three: the txiripá, the txumbé, and the ponchito. All of them are made of cotton fiber (mandydjú inimbó), produced by the Indians themselves. The work of spinning, dyeing, and weaving falls on the women. Nowadays, however, these artifacts of the Kayová Indian are becoming more and more rare. The present generation still remembers the time when many wore these garments, which are on the verge of disappearing. And it has not been very long ago that they were mandatory for anyone who wanted to participate in the dances and prayers. Paí Vitaliano in Dourados still displays them as a sacerdotal ornament for the celebration of the "baptism of the maize /Port. milho/" and other great solemnities, especially in the initiation of the boys. Among the Kayová of Amambai I heard it said that the boys, for their part, adorn themselves for the great ceremony with the traditional clothing of the tribe and with feather ornaments on the head and hands.

291 178 [796] [881]

291 [192] The txiripá, which falls below the knee, giving the impression of a skirt, is a simple cloth of cotton thread, rectangular in shape and provided with fringes (ipotý) on three sides. The upper part (which does not have any fringe), folded back beforehand, in a width of half a span, goes around the waist, from right to left, turning in the front as far as the left hip, so as to cover the anterior part of the body doubly and the posterior part only once.

[114] [386] In all my visits to Kayová villages I found only one txiripá: that of Paí Vitaliano of Dourados. It is made of undyed cotton and measures some 140 by 75 centimeters; like all or almost all objects linked to the religious cult, it displays urucú /annatto/ stains by way of decoration.

/39 cont./

291 184 An Indian from Amambai once told me: "Kayová does not use txiripá in the middle of the legs, like the Baticola of Paraguay; he uses it thrown around his waist and fastened with txumbé." In Dourados, on the contrary, it was insisted that the txiripá and [192] the ponchito described above /40/ have always been linked with cult practices and that the ancient ones used, as common clothing, the tambéó, a band of cloth passed between the legs and caught around the waist with a piece of embira. Since the mention of the tambéó was spontaneous, it is probable that the garment had in fact existed in the Kayová culture. And it is certain, in any case, that the use of the txiripá and the ponchito is not very suitable for the toil of hunting or even of tillage.

291 [115] The Kayová tambéó, in disuse today, has been described to me by Marçal de Souza in the following way: "It is large, like a txiripá, but it is not given a turn and a half around the body; at the height of the left hip it is tied with a salient cord; it goes down a span and a half to the middle of the thigh."

291 294 The txumbé is a band of cotton woven in patterns sometimes very pretty. It is worn around the waist. The largest, handsomest, and best worked example that I have seen measures 209 centimeters long and 12 centimeters wide, with fringes of 40 centimeters at the two ends; I acquired it in the village of Panambi. The smallest one, made on order by a woman of Dourados, is scarcely 130 centimeters [283] by 10 centimeters. The woof thread is always of white cotton, while the warp is of white and coloured thread. According to the information of Marçel de Souza from Dourados, the red and maroon colors 291 • 386 824 for dyeing cotton are extracted from two species of catiguá (katĩguá in Kayová, katiguá in Ñandéva); the yellow color is obtained from the wild mulberry or tajuva (tadiguá). One uses the inner bark of the catiguá and the pith of the tajuva, which are boiled together with the cotton threads already twisted. (According to the same 294 informant, not only the Kayová women, but Ñandéva women as 286 well weave or wove txumbé; the latter, moreover, made hammocks 352 of txumbé joined together laterally, as well as whole hammocks in 184 the same type of weaving, out of white cotton threads only or mixed with colored thread.) -- I often observed that the Kayová, lacking 291 a leather belt, secure their trousers with any band of cloth put around the waist in the manner of txumbé.

/53/

249 Among the plants cultivated in the villages of southern Mato Grosso one should mention, even though in passing, the yrukú or urucú, a plant that is not native in those lands. The Kayová
• 386 consider urucú paint sacred, saying that its "abuse" brings on
822 supernatural sanctions. All the ceremonial objects of the Kayová,
[778] including the cross (kurusú) used by the men and the rhythm stick (takuá) of the women, the little bench (apyká), and the altar (yvyrá), are rubbed with urucú, after scraping the surface of the
[302] pieces a little in order to set the color better. On the occasion of
386 ceremonies or for receiving a visit, the Kayová likes to cover his face with a layer of urucú. The paint is used either fresh or cooked. In the latter case, the seeds are boiled with a little water, without any other ingredient; the seeds are taken out, and the mass is boiled until it acquires the consistency of a paste, a form in which the paint does not harden and is kept for an un-
[184] limited time. The technique of the Ñandéva, according to the description that I obtained, is the same.

824 Aside from the selection of plants for therapeutical use, which
222 are very numerous, and others for industrial benefits, the Guaraní explores in an extensive, but not intensive manner the vegetable resources of his environment with reference to alimentation.

222 Thus, gathering is of secondary importance as a source of
[221] food. Among the exceptions, one can mention the gathering of the guavira /Campomanesia/ by the Kayová in the open country of southern Mato Grosso, an activity that every year leads entire bands of Indians to wander about for weeks in the months of November and December through the open countryside where they camp under the open sky. But the interest in the guavira today is already linked
[177] to acculturation, for its fruit is a source of money: the guavira,
[43] which is wild and abundant, is sold to aguardiente and vinegar factories.

/98 cont./

881 784 The initiation is a matter of rigorous secrecy, in which one who has not had his lip pierced does not participate. It is unheard of that women and children or foreign individuals would have witnessed the ceremonies. There is little probability, unfortunately, that any anthropologist will one day succeed in obtaining permission to observe them. Not even dogs, horses, or other domestic animals may remain in the vicinity, having to be carefully tied.

881 782 [115] The kunumí-pepý is not only a religious celebration for those being initiated, but for the whole male population of the united villages. The men sing a series of different prayers, corresponding to different aspects or phases of the ceremony. My informant, Vicente of Amambai, enumerated five prayers.

[192] [386] [624] The first refers to the fiemonguý, the black dye of yváporoý tý (the same name in Portuguese), with which the spot for the labial hole is marked. The spot is marked by the yvyráídjá, that is, an officiant assisting the fianderú or paí.

881 782 304 624 [192] [622] [756] [273] The second prayer refers to the yvyrárakuá, a wooden instrument for making the hole. The yvyráídjá also has the office of piercer -- the fianderú only gives orders -- he is seated on the apyká, the ceremonial bench; in front of him there is another apyká, on which is put first the /97/ "chief of the kids," or huitxá, then in turn the others (called the ivódjá), who wait their turn seated in a line on a series of apyká to the right and left. The piercer always stays on the same apyká; the candidates, made drunk beforehand with chicha, are brought before him. Another yvyráídjá, who stands beside the piercer, puts a tembetá-mirim in the newly opened orifice.

881 782 The third prayer refers to the tembetá (5);

[301] [824] [314]

5. /From p. 98 of the original source./ The tembetá, measuring in general 8 to 15 centimeters long, and in exceptional cases up to double that, is made of the resin of tembetá-ý (also called mbavý; in Portuguese: pau-vidro /glass tree/), which looks like yellow amber. The resin exists in sufficient quantity only after

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are mentioned.[68] It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá* as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupi-Guarani tribe to use indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.[69]

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required. The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or bat was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.[70]

Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may have been.

Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned. The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered. Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayua,[71] but no other suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows. Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives of bamboo are indicated,[72] but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *sarakuá*, was the primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembetá* ("lip-stone"), which in their case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

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[68] Métraux, 1928, p. 150. [69] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[70] The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guarani women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the missions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to inculcate the industry in their female wards.

[71] Métraux, 1928, p. 75. [72] *Ibid.*, pp. 98–99.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingud* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men.

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[3a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú.

At ceremonies, modern *Caingud* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects.

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable.

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingud* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks.

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingud*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps.

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery.

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingud* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing

[3a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

501 [171] rivers. They propel these craft with poles. The *Cayuá* of Brazil, who reside near larger streams, are good boatmen and travel a great deal in large dugouts, 8 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) long.

489 [285] **Carrying devices.**—Goods are carried in cylindrical or rectangular twilled baskets, reinforced with a wooden frame. *Paĩ'* carrying baskets are relatively extensible and are made of intertwined pindo leaves, the midribs strengthening the whole structure. Carrying nets made of bark strips were clearly introduced with the maté industry. The *Guaraní* skin [177] bag is certainly older than the net and appears to be an article that originated locally or was borrowed from tribes to the south. [178]

482 854 Babies are ordinarily carried in a sling, straddling their mothers' hips, but they may be transported in baskets or in skin bags.

MANUFACTURES

285 [824] **Basketry.**—The *Guaraní* weave temporary baskets of the pinnae of pindo palms, the midrib serving to reinforce the rim. More permanent containers are made of twilled fabrics of tacuarembo strands. They are [531] ornamented with black, geometrical motifs.

283 [824] **Spinning and weaving.**—Thread is made of cotton carded with a bow, or of *Bromelia*, nettle (*Urera grandifolia*), and palm (*Acrocomia totai*) fibers.

286 [283] [531] [386] [824] [178] [177] Cotton is spun with a drop spindle and woven on a vertical loom with a circular warp. Cloth is generally white with alternate brown and black stripes, dyed with the bark of *Peltophorum dubium* and *Trichilia catigua*. The technique of darning weft strands through warp elements attached to a vertical loom, though it has been observed in modern times, was probably an early practice abandoned when true weaving became general, probably through *Arawak* influence.

323 178 **Pottery.**—*Guaraní* ceramics are known through archeological finds in São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, near Asunción in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and on the island of Martín García. The largest specimens are funeral urns, which also served as beer containers. Small dishes and bowls have a white interior slip which bears sigmoid figures, curves, triangles, mazes, and "grecques." The large jars and ordinary ware have continuous rows of thumbnail or other impressions over their entire surface. The *Caingué*, who have practically given up pottery, make only a ware that is decadent in quality and shape. Bowls with a flaring base ("compotera" types) may perhaps be a survival of a pre-Columbian type.

415 **Leather work.**—The *Caingué* carry their small possessions in skin bags.

411 524 **Weapons.**—*Caingué* bows are made of palm wood, guayaihwi (*Patagonula americana*), or ihvira payú, ihvira pepé (*Holocalyx balansae*). They are 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.5 m.) long, circular or oval in cross section, and entirely or partially wrapped with guembé bark (*Philodendron* sp.)